

SPEECH

by

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before

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THE CIA AND WORLD AFFAIRS

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MORI/CDF

International President-Elect, Governor Shulman, Governor-Elect
Rossa, Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant Governor Smith...

Thank you very much for that introduction. I would like to talk to
you about something that's on the front page of all the newspapers right
now and that is intelligence. What is intelligence? Why does the
United States need it? How do we go about getting it? What do we do
with it? And what about all this stuff you're hearing about?

Well, what is intelligence? Intelligence is information concerning
the actions, policies, capabilities of foreign countries that may have
an impact on the United States of America and on our people. In the old
days that sort of intelligence was always thought of in just purely
military terms, but now we've got to think of it in other terms. There
are billions of petro-dollars, and oil-dollars wandering around the
world and the way they're invested and the way they're used may affect
the livelihood of American working men all over our country, so we have
an additional requirement in the field of economic intelligence.

You know, we Americans have a long tradition in intelligence. It's
a long tradition of building up great intelligence structures during our
wars and then dismantling them in the periods in-between. Just to give
you an idea -- in August 1942, right at the start of the war -- I was
assigned to the U.S. Army Military Intelligence Training Center at

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Camp Ritchie, Maryland, and the Commandant of the U.S. Army Military Intelligence Training Center was a British Colonel. That was the state of American intelligence at the outbreak of the war. Now, we paid dearly for that. We paid for it at Pearl Harbor. We had many losses of ships, many losses of lives. But we recovered from Pearl Harbor and we went on to win, but in the world we live in today, the great question that arises is, can you recover from a nuclear Pearl Harbor? The most important thing is obviously to deter that any such attempt ever be made against us and one of the surest ways of deterring that it be made is for other countries to know that we have the capability of watching them and keeping track of anything they may do that may threaten our country. That is one of the greatest guarantees and securities we have.

At a big investigation after Pearl Harbor we found that in various parts of the U.S. Government people had little pieces of information which, if they had all been brought together, might not have avoided Pearl Harbor, but certainly would have made it a lot less costly to us. And as a result of that, we decided we had to have a central place to collect, and to study, all of the intelligence that came in so that it could be transmitted to the people who have to make decisions in the United States as to what we're going to do.

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Now, why do we need intelligence? We need intelligence because the world is still not an ideal place to live in. We need intelligence because there are nations in the world with enormous power, enormous strength which they're building up. As a matter of fact, right now we see the Soviet Union deploying five different types of third generation missiles, intercontinental missiles that can reach the United States. We see them spending vast sums of money to improve their conventional forces, their army, their navy, their air force, to give them new equipment, better training, better everything. In the last couple of years, the United States Armed Forces have gone down by a million people. The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union in the same period have gone up by a million people. We face a situation where, if God forbid, we ever have to fight again for the first time since the Revolution, we will be fighting somebody who controls greater resources than we do. We don't say they're going to use these but we have to take into account the fact that they're building these up. In fact, in my view they are spending more money out of a gross national product, more absolute money, out of a gross national product that is less than half of ours. That gives you some idea of the effort they are asking their people to make to build up these forces.

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Now, it's important that we know what these threats may be.

China is building up her forces; China tomorrow will have the same kind of capability. It is our responsibility to keep track of that.

You know, people often think of intelligence as merely being a form of making war on your enemies, but it's also a form of making peace. No President of the United States could sign an arms limitation agreement limiting the number of missiles, limiting the number of strategic arms unless we had the absolute capability of verifying whether that agreement was being kept or not. This is the only thing that makes it possible for us to discuss these arms limitations with the Soviets.

There is another thing which you'll never see in the newspapers but sometimes several of our friends may get involved in a fuss and each one thinks the other one is going to jump him. And we have been able a number of times in the past to go to both parties and say, "He is not going to jump you. We know what is going on; he's worried that you're going to jump him, but he is not preparing to jump you." You never get any headlines for that, but it is still a force for peace.

But it is this intelligence capability that gives us an ability, an ability to make other countries know that we are watching and thereby to inhibit anything they might do.

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Now, you've heard a great deal about intelligence. What has been happening to intelligence? Well, in the United States Government intelligence gets less than one penny out of every dollar that is spent by the United States Government. And that is the means of telling us what others have, what we need to match. It is only through good intelligence that we can know how much is enough for ourselves. If we did not have good intelligence as to what the other side had, the probabilities are that our defense expenditures would soar out of sight. When you are preparing to face something that is unknown, you have to go as far as you can to try and face up to it. It is because that we have good intelligence that we are in a position to know what is sufficient for us.

Now obviously we hope that we can work out some agreement with the Soviet Union and limit the expenditures that both nations are making. But we can consider such an agreement only because we have the means of verifying it. Now we all hope that detente will bring a lessening of tensions between the two countries, but a friend told me a Russian story that I think is not a bad one. He said two young Americans went to Moscow and they were being taken around by a young Russian. And he took them to the Cathedral of Basil the Blessed and to the Kremlin

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and to the Stadium and to the University and finally he took them to the Zoo. And they were looking at the various animals in the cages and they finally came to a cage where there was a great big Russian bear, enormous, seven feet high. And in the same cage there was a rather worried-looking lamb. But the lamb appeared to be in good shape. One of the young Americans said to the young Russian, "Why do you put those two in the same cage? That's an odd pair to put in the same cage." And the young Russian said, "This is to prove that peaceful coexistence is possible." The young American said, "Well, it's pretty impressive." And his buddy said, "It sure is convincing." The young Russian, looking around and seeing no one, leaned over and whispered to them, "Of course you understand, every morning we have to put in a new lamb." And as long as you don't run out of lambs, there is no problem.

Well, the problem is, we don't want to be lambs. Good intelligence provides a firm basis for the foreign policy of the United States. If we know what's going on around the world we're in a position to draw up our policies so they can meet the various circumstances, the various requirements and the various contingencies. While I'm speaking of contingencies, good intelligence enables us to make the contingency plans we need to face various kinds of crises. If we did not have good intelligence we would be doing these things absolutely in the dark. We would be preparing for a

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contingency, the shape of which we couldn't see. We'd have to be preparing for so many contingencies, we would be stretching our capabilities and resources beyond what we could probably do. And the mere fact that the United States has, and is known to have, good intelligence, is in itself a deterrent against anyone attempting to cheat, or anyone attempting to surprise us.

In the early '60s we had a great discussion in the United States as to whether there was a missile gap between the United States and the Soviet Union. You couldn't have that discussion today. Our intelligence is good enough that we know what they have. And they know we know which is the most important part of all. They know that if they cheat we will tell them, we will call them on it. We will know. So what has always seemed in the past like a means of making war or some way of pushing your own advantage is actually a highly defensive thing. If we know what the Soviet strategic forces are and what their capabilities are, we know what we must have to deter them from using those forces. And after all that is the fundamental purpose. You don't hope to win a war, you hope to avoid the war in the first place. Because it is the greatest of all human catastrophies. And if we are strong and we have effective intelligence, if as a result

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of that effective intelligence we plan the right kind of defense for ourselves, we may not be called upon to use those forces. If you have good intelligence, you can forestall crises before they arise.

Now, how do we collect all this intelligence? There are many ways we collect this intelligence. First of all, an amazing amount of intelligence, even in other countries, is published in the newspapers, is broadcast over the radio. Not like in the United States, I regret to say. There are magazines you can buy in the United States that would give somebody else information we would have to spend many millions of dollars to acquire. But even in closed societies, there is an enormous amount of information available in the newspapers, in their foreign broadcasts, in the broadcasts to their own people.

Then we have the various technical systems which are the product of American genius. Whenever anyone asks me about intelligence, I always say that intelligence is really the oldest profession, because it's through intelligence you find out where it is. So, we have brought to intelligence as a nation, I think, the American genius for instruments, for machinery, for gadgets and for various other things.

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We have brought this and we have brought also another great contribution to intelligence which is thoughtful analysis. People working on problems for many years. The continuity of people working and studying the various developments around the world so that the proper information can be passed to those who make policy in the United States on these matters.

And finally we have the part that is getting so many of the headlines today -- the covert or political action -- the secret intelligence. Now, we can get an awful lot through the others, but there is still, when you are facing totally closed societies such as we face, a need for the human acquisition of intelligence and every nation has done this since the beginning of time. We Americans sometimes like to think of ourselves as being different from the others, that we're purer and nobler and all that dirty spying is all right for the British, French, Germans, Russians and somebody else but not for us Americans. Well, that's just not historically accurate. In this Bicentennial Year I have done some looking into this matter and I've found some surprising things. I found, for instance, that George Washington organized three separate kidnap attempts on Benedict Arnold. He also attempted to kidnap King George III's fourth son, Prince William, who was a midshipman in the Royal Navy.

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Now a lot of people tell you today that the American way is to tell everybody everything and you've got to let it all hang out and tell everybody everything. Well, that certainly wasn't the Founding Father's opinion. George Washington in 1779 wrote a letter to his chief of intelligence in New Jersey, Colonel Elias Dayton, and he said, "The need for good intelligence is so obvious that I have nothing further to add on this subject. All that remains is for me to tell you that these matters must be kept as secret as possible. For lack of secrecy these operations, no matter how well thought out or how promising the outlook, generally fail. I am sir, your obedient servant, George Washington."

On another occasion he spent the night at the home of a sympathizer. In the morning he was leaving and he went out, thanked the host, climbed up on his horse and the host's wife said to him, "And General, where are you riding tonight?" And he leaned down in the saddle and said, "Madam, can you keep a secret?" And she said, "Of course." He said, "So can I, Madam." Tipped his hat and rode on.

So this business that you've got to tell everybody everything is a lot of nonsense. If we have good human intelligence, we can forestall crises before they come. If we have the means, after this has been properly determined within the U.S. Government, and right now if we use such

means we are required to report them to six different committees of the Congress. If the President determines we should quietly help our friends in areas that are menaced by communist subversion, then we have some means of doing this, short of landing troops or sending the Marines.

All countries attempt to effect the situation in other countries, in a sense favorable to their own interest and, as I say, we do not live in an ideal world. Great efforts are being made. We don't have any CIA agents in Angola but there are ten thousand Cuban troops there. There are four hundred Russian instructors there. We don't have any of our people there. We don't have any American troops there or any American instructors or anything else. But they do.

Now, the choice is, you know, the British and French would not stand up to the Germans for a long time, they took the Rhineland, they took the Saar, they took Austria, they took the Sudetenland, they took the whole of Czechoslovakia, they took Memel before something happened. The trouble is that every time you give way in one of these things you give the other side a green light. Maybe it isn't really a green light, but he tends to interpret it as being a green light.

So it is vital for us to have the kind of information that will enable our nation to make the right kind of decisions. Now you've heard a

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lot of nonsense about the CIA having policies of its own. The CIA does not have policies of its own. The CIA is responsive to the United States Government. The Director is appointed by the President. He is confirmed by the Senate and he can be fired by the President at any time.

I can't tell you we haven't had certain abuses, certain kooks and certain people who have shown poor judgment in the past, of course we have. We've had 76,000 people go through the Central Intelligence Agency since it was founded 27 years ago. We've had, as I said, various abuses and transgressions and demonstrations of poor judgment, etc. But I submit that if you took any community of 76,000 and submitted it to the kind of scrutiny we've been submitted to over the last year, our record would look mighty good.

Now you have all these wild charges of assassination. What is the final conclusion? Nobody was assassinated.

Then you hear all about these toxins. What was the final conclusion? They were never used.

Then you were shown this dart gun on television. It was never used.

And time and again you get these things distorted out of all perspective. As I say, I'm not telling you there weren't overzealous people who embarked on projects that they shouldn't have. Some people asked

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me the other day, "How do you eliminate abuses in intelligence?" I said that as long as intelligence, like Congresses, and other human organization is made up of human beings, you can hope to minimize it. The idea that you can pass some law that everybody's going to be virtuous ever-after is impossible. You've got to appoint the right kind of people, you've got to watch them, you've got to make sure they're doing what you want and if you don't, you fire them. Or you punish them if they've done something worthy of punishment.

I might add that all this bruhaha you've heard about the CIA, nobody has been indicted. You know you get these things where, for instance, government agencies loan people to one another at one another's request. Defense loans people to State, State loans people to Defense. We have loaned people to other government agencies at the request of that agency, knowing they were CIA people. This is headlined as infiltration of other government agencies by the CIA. When the facts are produced a couple of days later that it isn't infiltration, this is on page 9. So it's very difficult to compete with these dramatic and fantastic headlines, which a couple days later, in many cases, are shown to be not reflective of the truth.

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We've got a statue of Nathan Hale out at CIA. It was put there over my protest. Not that I don't admire him as a very brave young man, but it seems to me that at the Headquarters of our national intelligence agency, to put a statue of a young man who was caught on his first mission and had all the evidence on his person is not what we should be showing to our young trainees. But even Nathan Hale, in a breach of security, before he went behind the British lines, said to one of his buddies, "I'm going to spy behind the British lines." And his friend looked at him and said, "How can you stoop so low?" So we have this thing in our national background that there is something low or something immoral or less good than in other people.

But as I say, we've had our transgressions, we've had our abuses but they are few and far between. You've heard a lot about telephone taps. Okay, we had 32 telephone taps in 27 years. And the Director of Central Intelligence is the only person in the United States Government who is charged by law with the protection of his sources and methods. So yes, we've had 76,000 people, we've had some people do some things that were wrong, do some things that they shouldn't, but when this is portrayed as a massive effort of some sort, it just isn't so.

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When the conspiracy theorists mouth CIA complicity in President Kennedy's assassination -- which has been flatly denied and the Congressional committees have examined this in the greatest detail -- there isn't one iota of substance to it. But it keeps recurring, round and round and round again. In most cases most of these transgressions and abuses that you heard of were found by the Intelligence Community itself and reported to the Congress. As far back as 1973 the Director issued a series of regulations prohibiting these things. But here again you have a problem of judging what was done yesterday by the standards of today. It is hard for those who did not live through it to remember what the state of mind of people was 20-30 years ago because most of the things we're talking about occurred 20 or 30 years ago. We're not talking about the recent past in most cases. It is hard for them to remember the degree of commitment of the United States to stop communist expansion. It is hard for people today to remember the feeling of the so-called Cold War. It is hard for those who did not live through Pearl Harbor to remember Pearl Harbor and to remember the commitment of the American people never to be surprised again. Because I've said it before and I'll say it again. You can recover from a naval Pearl Harbor but you may not be able to recover from a nuclear Pearl Harbor.

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Now what do we see today? We see probably the greatest capability that any nation has had against the United States since Valley Forge. In the old days the United States was far away, it was unreachable and therefore unbeatable. That is no longer true. George Washington when he said, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," had two or three months on either side of the country. Today we have fifteen minutes or half an hour.

So we have a situation. I'm not saying these capabilities are going to be used. I'm saying that they exist, they exist in the Soviet Union today, they will exist in China tomorrow.

You hear all this James Bond nonsense but the great questions before our Agency are to provide those who make our decisions, really in my view, with the answers to four terribly important questions. Who will be in control of the Soviet Union five years from today? What will be their feelings towards us and towards our allies? What is there in Soviet science and research and development today that will impact upon us five or ten years down the line? And these same questions for China. And these are the questions the American Government looks to us to give them answers. We must try and give them the answers and you've got to try and be right.

You know, one of the things that is disturbing in all this is the spectacle we are creating before the whole world. A lot of people regard us as being like that Pharisee who watched the guy go up and said, "Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other men, a sinner and an adulterer like that Pharisee." You remember which one went down from the temple justified.

Today we don't know, it isn't published here what the world is saying about us, but if you travel around a great deal as I do, it is very disturbing. I would just like to read you quotes from two newspapers that over the years have been extraordinarily friendly to the United States; have defended us against attacks of all sorts. An Italian newspaper, Il Giornale, said, "The names of the intelligence agents of the United States today are being published in lists as though they were bandits to be hunted down by the sheriff."

Now let me read you what the London Daily Telegraph says, which is one of the most important newspapers in Great Britain and a consistent friend of the United States over the years. "Two morals are driven home by this tale." -- They have been describing what's going on in the United States, the state of permanent investigation in which we live, and so forth -- "One is for America herself: she must find an effective means of keeping her secrets and of punishing those who for gain or notoriety

disclose and publish them. The other is for America's friends: they must look urgently to their own defense and security. For little help is for the time being to be expected from a country so sadly distracted and at war with itself, in which no man can become eminent or important without being drowned in mud, ridicule and calumny. And meanwhile quietly, ruthlessly, and without any such fuss or self-mutilation, Russia extends her grim sway."

Another quote from another article in the Daily Telegraph. "America is accustomed to, and has merited a good deal of deference from her allies. But deference can be a disservice. The United States should know that her European cousins and allies are appalled and disgusted by the present open disarray in her public life. The self-criticism and self-destructive tendencies are running mad, with no countervailing force in sight. Her intelligence arm, the CIA, is being gutted and rendered inoperative and the names of its staff are being published so they can be murdered."

Now you don't hear a great deal about this but if you travel abroad and you talk to foreigners, they are genuinely concerned about us. Now I tell them we have these strange goings-on, we get over them.

I was a Corporal in the U.S. Army in the summer of 1941. Western Europe had been occupied by the Germans, and the German advance in Russia was going forward at 40 miles a day. The United States Congress

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approved compulsory military service by a majority of one vote. Five months later we were at war all over the world. So we have a great resilience as a people to come out of these things. But we've got to. You know I say it's tragic enough to have Americans killed but when other Americans do the fingering, it's all the more revolting.

Now, you may wonder who are these people in CIA. I'm not an old CIA man. I went there for the first time four years ago. Now when people ask me what my impression is after four years, I answer with one word. I'm reassured. These are Americans like other Americans. Like you and like me. They live by the same standards of right and wrong. They believe they are serving their country in a dedicated way. I believe they are too. Every day when I leave my office I go by the stars chiseled in the wall at the entrance of the building, and there is one more new one, in memory of those members of our organization who have fallen as truly for the United States as anyone who ever fell on any noisy battlefield. They have fallen on the silent battlefield. We did not choose to fight on that silent battlefield. We were compelled to fight there if our nation is to remain free and what we want it to be. And with the kind of government in which we decide and not someone else how we are to live.

Across from those stars is the motto of the Agency which is a quote from John . It says, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth

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and the truth shall make you free." I can't help but think that we perhaps ought to change that to fit it to our times. It should read, "You must know the truth for only the truth will keep you free." And I can tell you, you the American people, that those of us who labor in intelligence with our colleagues in the Defense Department, in the FBI and in the other parts of the Intelligence Community of the United States will not let you down. We know that in the great contest in which the world is engaged today there are no second prizes. What is at issue is not this rummaging through the garbage pails of history concerning events of 25 or 30 years ago. The real issue before the American people is will the United States, as it moves into the last quarter of this century, have eyes to see and ears to hear, or will it stumble blindly forward into those years until the day it has to choose between abject humiliation and nuclear blackmail. I have great faith in the wisdom of the American people. I have great confidence in the organization with which I am connected. In spite of everything that you have heard, I am absolutely convinced that we are every day furnishing the Government and the Congress with the finest intelligence in the world. We will continue to do that. Winston Churchill told my generation that on our journey we would have as our only companions, blood, sweat, tears and toil. As we move into the last years of this century I hope that we will have as

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our companions: faith, which lights the road ahead, for dark is the road of man who walks without faith; enthusiasm, which gives force to the young and keeps the older still producing; and most of all, courage, for courage is the greatest of human virtues, it is the guarantee of all the others. We have always been a courageous people and in this time when we are the last, best hope of mankind, I know we will not fail.

Thank you very much.